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AN ADDRESS

TO THE

COLORED PEOPLE
OF GEORGIA,

BY ELIAS YULEE,
A Member of the Bar.



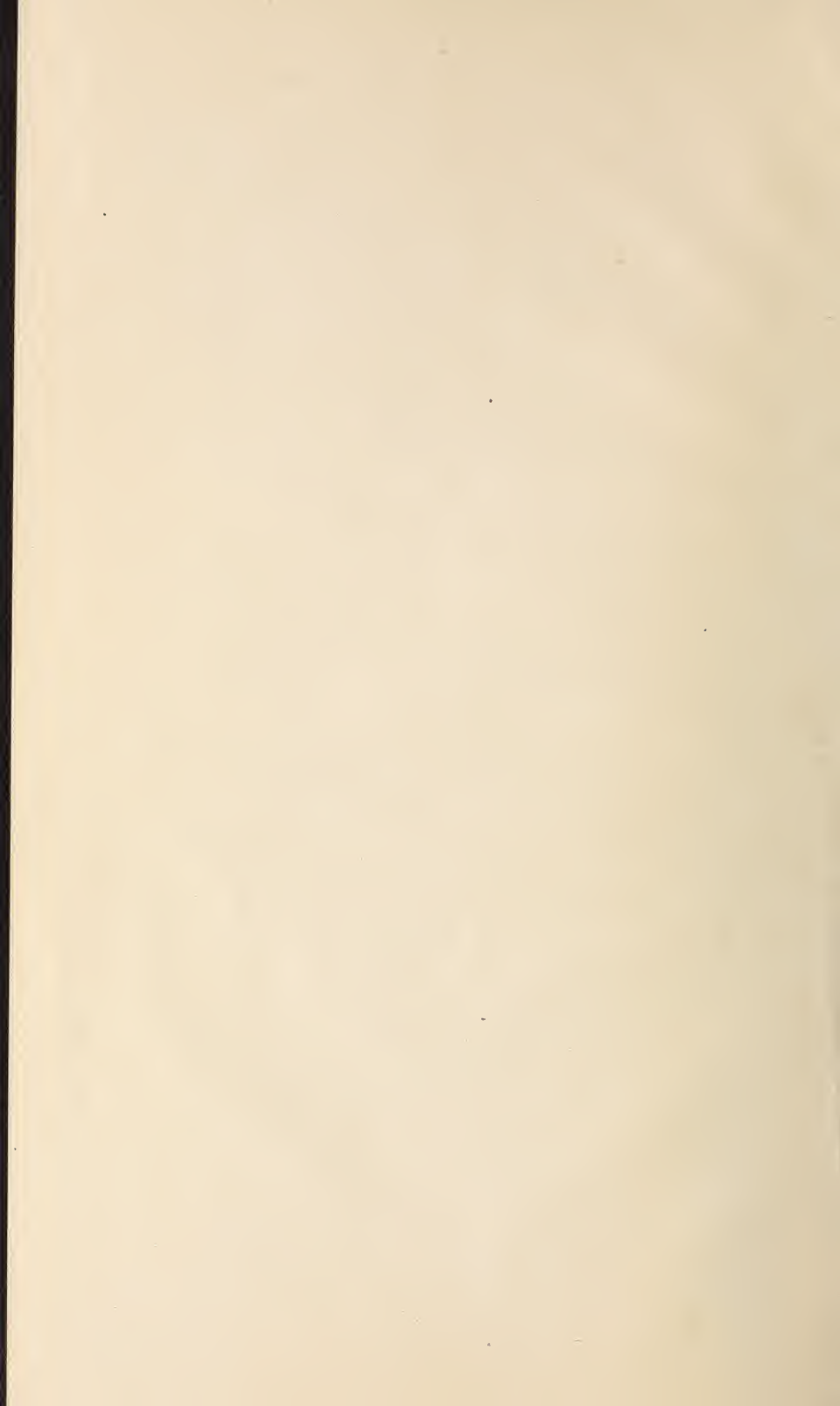
SAVANNAH:
"REPUBLICAN" JOB OFFICE.
1868.





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AN ADDRESS

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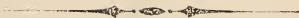
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TO THE

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P R E F A C E.

This address, though made to the colored people of Georgia, is nevertheless intended for general reading. It furnishes a course of facts, that may be useful in the hands of intelligent whites, to present to the colored people in their immediate vicinity. We trust, that they will be found useful in disabusing the minds of misguided men among them. The terms *North* and *South* are used frequently, by which we wish it distinctly understood, that we mean by these terms only the *principles* upheld by the leaders of the parties. The mass of the *people* of the North are no doubt honest in their intentions, but they are under a delusion, brought on by designing men. A man, whether from the North or South, from Europe, Africa, or Asia, is to us a *man*, according to his principles. We hail alike with hearty good will, the Northern or the Southern man, whose principles lead him to the maintenance of free institutions, and who is opposed to Europeanizing our country, preferring the Constitutional rights of the States to centralization. We trust these explanations will defend us, from appearing so narrow minded and contracted, as the judging of a man by his birthplace. Nowhere, are there found men more true to the principles of Democratic rule, than in New England, but they are unfortunately in the minority as yet. We have had, nevertheless, in the discussion of our subjects, to use the terms *Northern*, *Southern*, *Yankee* and *New England*, as generic names for certain principles in the ascendancy in those localities. With us, principles make men, and not men or their birthplaces their principles.

Savannah, October 10th, 1868.



AN ADDRESS.

To the Colored People of the South.

My friends (and I am not backward in calling you so, seeing that from my earliest childhood, I have been indebted to many of you for numerous services), I am profoundly interested in your future prospects. Impressed with this interest in your welfare, I feel called upon to use, what influence my feeble efforts may contribute to your progress and happiness. You are in danger, and it behooves you to reflect. You have now no human protectors, bound by their interest to regard your safety.

Emancipation has made you your own guardians, and you are cast amongst the most active race of men, (the Anglo-Saxons of America, of the North and the South), to work out your fate, for good or evil. It is now a question you have to solve, whether like the Indians, you shall die out and leave no trace behind, or whether you shall become an element of civilized society. You have active enemies, who desire your annihilation, or your removal to some other lands. You have also some mistaken friends, who are your worst enemies (the old Abolitionists), because they are persuading you to take a position you cannot maintain, namely, the assertion of your independence and equality with white men in the race for power and progress. God has endowed various races with various powers and attributes, he has not made you to be the pioneers in civilization, but you may follow in its track and partake of its blessings. These, your friends, who do not know you, but live at the North, apart from you, have formed a theory of what they consider manhood rights, and they wish, regardless of all fitness or propriety, to apply their theory to all men. Thus they would argue—God made an ox, he also made a horse, why should not an ox be as swift of foot as a horse, why should they not be yoked together. You know the consequence that would follow, the horse being so much the swifter, would drag the ox to death, and one or the other, or both would suffer. So with you and the white race. Experience teaches you that in matters of intellectual progress, you are not the equals of the white race. To put you to a contest with him for the superiority, or even equality, you would fail, and make trouble for all concerned. The point I wish to arrive at, is to appeal to your consciousness of facts, and to persuade you to act in conformity with them.

I will therefore make a few short remarks under these following heads.

First.—Whence were you ?

Second.—What were you in your natal homes of Africa ?

Third.—Who brought you here and how long ago ?

Fifth.—Whence was your emancipation, from the accidents of war or from design?

Sixth.—What is your present position?

Seventh.—What is civilization, and what its inexorable decrees?

Eighth.—What are your present duties in view of the past and the future?

Ninth.—Who are they, who are urging on you a departure from your life-long course as waiters on Providence?

Tenth.—The dangers you are in by attempting to mould your future by force, instead of moving on as heretofore, under obedience and tutelage to those who have always had you in charge.

I shall proceed to illustrate these heads in their order.

NUMBER II.

WHENCE WERE YOU?

About two hundred and fifty years ago, the Europeans, feeling the want of labor to cultivate the lands of this new country, had their attention turned to Africa. There they discovered that your ancestors were living rude lives, ignorant and barbarous, and were engaged in constant wars, making prisoners of each other, who, when taken, were either barbarously murdered or kept as slaves to the chiefs who took them. Travelers who have visited that country, state that on the death of a chief thousands of slaves are killed to keep him company in death and futurity; also, that it is the custom of the chiefs to ornament their houses with the skulls of those they have slain, so that the picket fences about their houses are stuck full of skulls. As to their religion, it was of the most horrid nature; they worshipped not only images, but animals of various kinds, the shark among others, to which animal they sacrificed their infant children annually.

Finding the people of Africa of this character, it was argued by the kings and princes of Europe, that by buying them from their chiefs, and bringing them away from such a barbarous country, they would be doing them a great service. The kings of Europe, who then owned this country, therefore permitted their subjects—the English, Spaniards, Portuguese, French and Dutch merchants and captains, to buy your ancestors in Africa, and bring them to this country and the West India Islands.

Of course those who engaged in this traffic, did not do it from Christian love towards you, but for gain. But what I mean to say is, that the Christian Church in Europe, and the kings of Europe, were led to permit the traffic on account of what they considered benevolent motives, namely, the taking your ancestors from slavery in Africa, among barbarous chiefs, and bringing them to slavery in America, among a Christian people. If they had left them in Africa, they would still have been slaves, and liable to be killed by their savage masters, but brought here, though slaves, they

would be under more humane masters. What has been the result? Your present condition is the answer. Compare yourselves with the native African, and tell whether you are not infinitely improved. Africa is the same to-day as it was then. Its people have not advanced, and perhaps never will advance, till the white people carry civilization there, either by commerce or force of arms, or by both. Do not understand me to claim for the white people any extraordinary motives of love of neighbor, or charity in their doings. Those who brought you here were governed by self alone. They wanted your labor or they would not have brought you from Africa. So if Africa is to be benefitted by having civilization carried there, it will be only when the white people can make something by it.

God, however, uses man's selfish purposes to carry out His providences, and I suppose God permitted you to be brought here to do you good, as it has so turned out.

Many of you have seen Africans just from their native land. We have many of them now among us, though improved by residence here. What did they know? Nothing! while you are masons, bricklayers, carpenters, shoemakers, wheelwrights, ship carpenters and agriculturists. Besides this, thousands of you have become Christians, which is more than all earthly greatness and possessions.

All this, slavery in America has done for you, while slavery in Africa would have left you still the barbarian, just as rude and ignorant as those natives are, whom you have seen from there.

Sir Samuel White Baker, the African explorer, who established the fact of the sources of the Nile, after much experience in *Negroland*, thus sums up his opinion of African character:

"I wish the black sympathizers in England could see Africa's inmost heart as I do, much of their sympathy would subside. Human nature viewed in its crude state, as pictured amongst African savages, is quite on a level with that of the brute, and not to be compared with the noble character of the dog. There is neither gratitude, pity, love, nor self-denial; no idea of duty; no religion; but covetousness, ingratitude, selfishness and cruelty. All are thieves; idle, envious and ready to plunder, and enslave their weaker neighbors."—Page 164 of "*The Albert Nyanza Great Basin of the Nile.*" Published in 1866 in London, by Sir Samuel White Baker.

These opinions and experiences are corroborated by every other traveler and explorer in Africa. How, then, can you believe what silly people tell you, that slavery in America has reduced you to ignorance? Has it not rather raised you to a partial civilization? Are you not better in the scale of being than your African forefathers? Whether you are to continue progressing, will depend entirely on the use you make of your liberty.

History tells you, how and by what means you were enslaved and brought to America. The South in the beginning opposed slavery. Our people looked with alarm at the introduction of the negro among us, and it was not till we had welded you into our

social fabric, that we settled down into the toleration of the system, under which we lately lived. Of course, we then resisted the uprooting that which had taken root. Our interests became identified with that state of society, and like all men we desired permanence.

The revolution, in our institutions now made and accomplished, we are satisfied to begin to re-organize society on the new basis of free labor, and we desire to take you by the hand and continue your civilization as freedmen, if you will let us.

I present you an extract from the original Declaration of Independence, written by Thomas Jefferson, a Southern man, who you will see condemned negro slavery, even before the formation of our federal relations. In the *fac simile* of the draft of the Declaration of Independence by Thomas Jefferson is the following paragraph.

“He (the King of England) has waged civil war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty, in the persons of a distant people, who never offended him; captivating and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither. This piratical warfare, the opprobrium of infidel powers, is the warfare of the Christian King of Great Britain. Determined to keep open a market where MEN should be bought and sold, he prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or to restrain this execrable commerce; and that this assemblage of horrors might want no fact of distinguished dye, he is now exciting those very people to rise in arms among us, and to purchase that liberty of which he has deprived them, by murdering the people upon whom he also obtruded them, thus paying off former crimes, committed against the liberties of one people, with crimes which he urges them to commit against the lives of another.”—*See Jefferson's Correspondence.*

Now let it be remembered, that this was written by a Southern man, condemning the introduction of negro slaves into the United States. All the Southern men of that day opposed negro slavery. Why I ask, was this paragraph stricken out from the original draft of the Declaration of Independence.

The striking out was done by the New Englanders, who were making money by the slave trade, and winced at its condemnation in such forcible terms. *New England* is well named as the offshoot of *Old England*, the same nation of traders, whose politics and statesmanship are bounded by the accumulation of pelf.

They, these traders, introduced you among us, and as soon as they had an object to serve, they pay off the crime of piracy and slave dealing, “committed against the liberties of one people, with crimes which they urge you to commit against the lives of another.”

This authentic scrap of history suffices to show you conclusively, that the South had nothing to do with bringing you from Africa, but has been your best and *only* true friend, under whom you have increased and improved.

NUMBER III.

In my last number I endeavored briefly to answer the question—Whence were you? What were you in your natural homes of Africa? Who brought you here, and how long ago?

I will now review the question—Who have had charge of you since first brought here, and have advanced you to your present state of progress?

The emissaries of the North and misguided colored men, who are ambitious to use you for their own elevation, have endeavored to sow the seeds of discord between you and your old masters. They tell you that the Southern people stole you from Africa; that they have been *wrongfully* holding you as slaves; that they treated you cruelly; that they failed to educate you; that they denied you progress, and the common rights of human beings; that all the wealth and possessions of the South are due to you; that you owe your old masters a debt of hate, and that you can never hope for anything from them but continued oppression and prejudice; and, finally, that the Northern people are your friends, with whom you should join to put down your old masters.

These are the teachings of the parties, who are arraying you into a black man's party against the Southern whites.

Let us examine each of these propositions. Were you stolen from Africa? I say, no! You were bought either from the chiefs who owned you, or, in some instances, from your own parents. The traffic in slaves in Africa is common there to this day, as recent travelers say that trade is carried on principally in slaves, so that instead of saying a thing is worth so many dollars, they say it is worth so many slaves. As far as history goes, slavery has been the *rule* in Africa. Your ancestors were slaves in their native land; were bought as slaves by those white men who went there to buy you, and were again sold as slaves to the Southern planters who have held you as such ever since, up to a few years ago.

So you see that it is false that you were stolen—false that the Southern people went to Africa to get you—because you were brought from Africa by the Europeans and the Yankees, (*who were the thieves, if you were stolen at all*), and that you came into the possession of your Southern masters by purchase. They paid the Yankees for you, who took that money and invested it in manufactures, by which they have got rich, very rich.

The above facts disprove the charge, that the South has been wrongfully holding you

Now as to the charge that they treated you cruelly. You know whether this is true or not. Some of you will say--yes, and others no. Those who say yes, will tell of being flogged, of being punished in various ways. If you examine into the lives of most of these persons you will find that freedom has not stopped their punishments. As they then complained of the cruelty of their masters,

they now complain of the cruelty of the law, which puts them in chain gangs, in prisons, in penitentiaries, or on the gallows. The men who were punished as slaves are now punished as freedmen. The cruelties they complained of as from their masters, they now complain of as being inflicted by the law. Does not this prove that their punishment was not from cruelty, but from necessity to preserve good order. Of course, there were some persons who were unjustly punished, some who had cruel and bad masters, but this injustice is not peculiar to slavery; it is practised all over the world—among Yankees and Europeans. Nay, who was treated so unjustly as our Good Father in Heaven, who, when he came to bless mankind, was cruelly crucified, and is being daily crucified all over the world by those who call themselves Christians.

But thousands and thousands of former slaves say, that from their youth up to their emancipation, they were treated kindly and humanely by their former owners.

The charge of cruelty is also disproved from the fact, which cannot be gainsayed, that during slavery the black people increased astonishingly, while now that they are free, they are decreasing. Look at the present immorality of the young black people of both sexes; see how they are rushing to destruction. Idle and vagrant, they are preparing an early grave, into which they will sink, covered with the leprosy of crime.

Was it cruel on the part of their old masters to surround them with restraints, and compel them to a useful compliance with orderly habits?

Your own good sense (I mean those of you who have learned something from the teachings of your masters) must admit, that it cannot be called cruelty to compel ignorant people to obey the laws of order, just as we tutor, punish and compel children to do what is right.

As to the charges made by the Yankees, that your masters failed to educate you, you might ask the Yankees why they did not educate you themselves, when they brought you from Africa, instead of selling you to the South? Your masters *did* educate you as agriculturists, mechanics and in morals. They also provided religious teachers for you. It is true they did not teach you reading, writing, etc., but the reason is plain—they had to make your labor useful, and if your time had been taken up with schools, it would have interfered with the work they bought you to perform. If you go to the North or to Europe, you will find that when a man employs a servant or laborer, he does not trouble himself with his education, but gets all the work out of him that he can. I am not defending this mode of proceeding, but I say that it is human nature all over the world, to neglect too much our duty towards our fellow beings.

Your old masters were no worse than other people in this respect. As to the statement that all the wealth and possessions in the South are due to negro labor, it is mere nonsense. Where and when did the negro race ever build a city, a church, a fine house, a railroad, a steamboat, a plantation for rice, cotton or sugar.

They do not do it in Africa, they do not do it any where, but as laborers under the direction of the whites, who have intelligence and capital.

As well may the Irish laborer claim New York city, because by his labor all the stores and residences there were constructed.

Or claim our railroads because they labored on them with their shovels and wheelbarrows.

Your masters paid their money for you to the Yankees, and of course put you to work, taught you to be useful, and in the meantime cared for you as your protectors and friends. The work you did they paid for by their care of you from infancy to age, and you are as well off to-day as are the white laborers of Europe, who have to depend on the daily work of their hands for a daily living.

Another thing told you is, that the people of the South want to make you slaves again.

This is also false. If you were to offer yourselves as slaves they would not take you back. They find free labor cheaper and not so troublesome. Slavery was more hurtful to the whites than the blacks, and no one wants it back.

NUMBER IV.

WHENCE WAS YOUR EMANCIPATION, FROM THE ACCIDENTS OF WAR, OR FROM DESIGN ?

In considering this question, it will be necessary to inform you of the state of parties from the first formation of the Government, eighty years ago. From the very first, there was a contest between the North and the South for control of the Government. Slavery had not anything to do with it, because nearly all the States were slave States. But the North, (Massachusetts in particular) wanted advantages in commerce. Then came the interests of the manufacturers, who asked for high tariffs, to protect their manufactures. The meaning of a tariff is, a tax on all goods manufactured out of the United States, so that a yard of calico made in England, should pay so much tax when brought into this country. This made it possible for the North to make calicoes, &c., which they could not do, if there was no tax on the foreign calico. But it made the calico, and other goods the South used, cost higher than if there was no tariff. The tariff helped the North and hurt the South, your country. I say *your country*, because whatever hurt the South, hurt you, for it made the planter, your master, poorer, and made *you* poorer too. Every yard of goods used by you, your wives, or your children, had to pay this tax to help the Yankee to get richer.

Another cause of quarrel between the sections, was, the lands or territories, belonging to the United States. The South wanted the privilege of going into them, and taking their slaves with them. The North said they should not. This was also a question in which

you were interested, because if you could have been taken there, you would have had a larger country to live and prosper in. Now the Northern people, and the Irish and the Germans, have taken all that country, and they make laws to keep you out of them to this day, so that you are not free to go in all of them, and if you were permitted to go, you would have no welcome hands to receive you. The people do not want you there. Here you are welcome.

The quarrel went on for eighty years, during which, the question of Abolitionism was raised, not because as a party they loved you, but because they hated the South on account of all this contention. At last the South decided to leave such an unpleasant contest, and in 1861, (seven years ago) declared themselves out of the Union. Then came war, not for the abolition of slaves, but to make the South stay in the Union. Finding the South stronger than they expected, they tried to weaken her by emancipating their slaves, and taking them into their armies. These are facts that you can learn any day by enquiry. You have therefore no thanks to give the Yankees for your emancipation. They were forced to it, so as to conquer the South, *your country*. They now come to you, hypocritically calling themselves your friends, who went to war to emancipate you, and ask you to help them to continue the war, against the interests of *your own South*, and against your old friends, who raised you and taught you all you know.

The same contest is now going on against us, that went on before the war. The North wants to get richer and richer, and make the South poorer and poorer, by the use of tariffs or taxes, and an unjust discrimination against our interests. That is the reason they want you to have votes, that you may send their friends to Congress, the enemies of your old *mother Georgia*. They think you are ignorant, and can be led any where, and made to do anything a Yankee tells you.

You owe your emancipation, through the accidents of war, to Providence alone, and happy for the South if they had given you freedom long ago, for slavery has been a curse to the country, and kept it from prospering. Because—whether a slave was idle or criminal, he still had to be supported; but now he is free, if he does not work, he must starve; and if he is criminal, the law takes him and *makes* him work. Slavery was a very expensive institution, and the South is glad to get rid of it. Our present duty should be to take you by the hand, and help you to become useful citizens, happy in yourselves, and making other people happy. This the Southern man alone can and will do, because it is to his interest, first to have you useful to yourselves and others; and, secondly, he has more feeling, friendship and regard for you, because you have been born in his house, and brought up among us. We know you better than others, and appreciate your good, and have more forbearance towards your bad qualities than strangers can or will have.

Yankees would never tolerate *Simbo* and his easy, indolent habits of getting along, as do the more tolerant and less exacting Southern man.

That you may judge how the best of your friends—Abraham Lincoln—regarded you, I will give you some extracts from his speeches of 1858, ten years ago. He said:

“I have said that I do not understand the Declaration of Independence to mean that all men are created equal in all respects, certainly the negro is not our equal in color, perhaps not in many other respects. I did not, at any time, say I was in favor of negro suffrage. I am not in favor of negro citizenship.”

Again, in the same debate with Douglas, in Illinois. He said: “I am not, and never have been, in favor of making voters of negroes. * * * There is a physical difference between the black and the white races, which I believe will ever forbid the two races living together on terms of social and political equality.”

In June, 1862, there was a deputation of negroes who waited on him, while he was President during the war. He then said to them:

“Why should not the people of your race be colonized? Why should they not leave this country? You and we are a different race. We have between us a broader difference than exists between almost any other two races. Whether it is right or wrong, I need not discuss; but this physical difference is a great disadvantage to us both, as I think your race suffers greatly by living with us, while ours suffers by your presence. In a word, we suffer on each side. If this is admitted, it shows a reason why we should be separated.” * * * “But even when you cease to be slaves, you are yet far removed from being placed on an equality with the white race.” * * * “Go where you are treated best,” (meaning in the North), “and the ban is still upon you. I do not propose to discuss this, but to present it as a fact with which we have to deal. I cannot alter it if I would. It is a fact about which we all think and feel alike. We look to our condition owing to the existence of the races on this continent.”

I might quote a number of Northern great men—W. H. Seward, Secretary of State; Stephen A. Douglas, Daniel Webster, John Adams, John Quincy Adams, all to show that the Northern people, as a whole, do not desire your presence in the United States, and care nothing for you, hence they would not have gone to war to free you; but war once commenced, your emancipation followed as one mode of conquering the South.

This was the act of God, who may have done it, either for your destruction or your further advance. Time alone can tell, for who can look into the secret counsels of the Most High and His eternal purposes. God moves in a mysterious way, and His path no one can see, until He has past by us. He brought the children of Israel out of Egypt, but not one of that people lived to get to the promised land of Canaan. They wandered for forty years in the wilderness, and there they all perished. Their posterity alone entered Canaan, and after that, the whole of them were dispersed, wanderers over the wide world, exiles from their own land, persecuted of all nations. Now, many of you delight and plume yourselves on your emancipation, and compare it to that of the chil-

dren of Israel from Egypt. You call some one (Lincoln or Johnson) your *Moses*. Remember, if you are to be as the children of Israel, you have a wilderness to travel through, before you get to Canaan, and if you do not obey the commandments of God, you are to be scattered, exiled and persecuted.

I mention this to show you the folly of those who claim for you the peculiar favor of heaven. For aught we know, your emancipation may be the precursor of your annihilation, and this is sure to be the case if you cannot be made useful to the progress of civilization, which progress is the great end God has in view for mankind.

Do not plume yourselves with the idea of special grace in your favor. Like all men, you will be judged by your works alone as were the Jews.

Man proposes, but God disposes. You and your allies may flatter yourselves, under the delusions of a fool's paradise, but who can tell the end till it comes?

NUMBER V.

WHAT IS CIVILIZATION, AND WHAT ITS INEXORABLE DECREES?

This question is a serious one, and requires to be seriously pondered. Civilization may be compared to a chariot, propelled by an irresistible power, that crushes out of existence all those who obstruct its onward career. Its advent is as the day of judgment to every man and every nation. The Indians encountered it and failed to stand before it. The Malays, the Hawaiians and other tribes and people have been judged by it, and they preferred darkness to its light, and they are fading away before it. It is a law of civilization to remove from its path whoever cannot be made useful to its progress. The idle, the vicious, the libertine and the profligate die and leave no memorial behind them. Civilization, that opens a path of safety and prosperity to its friends, envelopes its enemies in the waves of destruction. When it visits the savage, it is to judge him either to life or to death.

The black or negro race is the only one of the savage tribes that has stood the test and has increased in numbers within the charmed circle of civilization. While the Indians have faded away the blacks have largely increased. Why is this? It is because they have allowed themselves to be made useful to its life. The blacks have been willing to labor; the Indians would not. The blacks raised cotton, corn, sugar; they were willing to come under the rule and mastership of the civilized white man, and become a useful part of the social fabric of America. This he was enabled to do, because his nature is different from that of the Indians. In the first place, he is tractable, the Indian intractable. Next, he is conscious of his ignorance and dependence, while the Indian is haughty, proud, and independent. The negro accepted

the hand of the white man extended to him, and became a laborer in fields of productive industry; the Indian spurned all labor, but that of the hunter.

In fine, the negro was obedient to an intelligent master; the Indian rejected all mastership. The whole secret of the increase of the negro race and its partial civilization, is due to the willingness of the negro to be led by his superiors in knowledge, and to be made useful.

His fate in the future will depend entirely on his willingness to continue, as a freeman, under the same pupilage and guidance that led him along when a slave. If he sets up for himself, and attempts to introduce a new *Africa* in the South, his days are numbered, and civilization will sweep him out of its track. The race can only live in, by, and through the white race, which is, in the hands of Providence, the instrument for the introduction and progress of civilization. If you ask how do I know this, I will answer, I know it, because only among the whites does civilization exist; that Christendom alone, shows that living, omnipotent power that is moulding mankind into a new world of thoughts and acts, which shall change the face of the earth. Like earthquake shocks and phenomena, it sinks and elevates, devastates and recreates.

It is the work of God on earth, and only those who are for it, and willing to welcome his work, can or will stand before it.

Even among civilized nations, there are those which are more, and others less civilized. These different degrees of civilization war on each other, and the more advanced always prevails. The Lord said he came to bring a sword into the world, and truly that sword has been at work since his coming. His sword is truth, and civilization advances that truth. You can no more stand before it than prevail against God. Like the Indian, you may resist, you may murder, you may destroy, but you must at last succumb to those who have in their keeping the *oriflamme* of civilization. It is always advancing from age to age.

My good friends, my heart warms towards you, because there is so much in you that shows humility and affection. I want to see all your good qualities preserved and strengthened, and therefore I address you, that I may possess you with the truth.

You are not intellectual as are the whites, but you receive humbly all that commends itself to your perception. The Lord says, in his gospel, we must be servants of all. You have served willingly as slaves, and made the best of your opportunities—never complaining, always cheerful.

You did not raise a hand to secure your freedom, but accepted it as the act of Providence. You have not used your freedom insolently, except when led astray by wicked men, who have striven to inoculate you with the virus of self-assertion and self-dependence. You are willing to look to God and the persons he has made your guides. These bad men seek to make you abandon the teachings of heaven, and strive as white men strive, in the pride of their own intelligence. Such is not your peculiar characteristic.

The white man receives by his understanding, and fights for the promptings and teachings of what his reason dictates. You, on the contrary, receive by *hearing*, and not by seeing, and adapt yourselves to what you *hear*. The whites all over the world, have been constantly killing, and contending for certain principles, either in religion or politics. The blacks have never yet taken up arms for the assertion of any princip'e. All the fighting they have ever done has been either at the dictation of others in this country—whilst in their own, they fight for revenge, plunder or robbery.

What is civilization? I will endeavor to state it plainly. Man has two kinds of sight; one is the common one, received through the eye of the body, and constitutes one of the senses by which he views all things external to him. The other sight is that of the mind's eye, which sees things above and within him. By this last mode of sight he perceives principles; he also, by the same sight, invents means for perfecting a life of happiness and comfort, in accordance with those principles.

He adapts nature to his wants. He learns the sciences, he institutes governments, builds works of beauty, becomes a poet, a painter, sculptor, and composes music descriptive of the affections. All this is done by the elevation of man's internal sight into the regions within and above external nature.

This he can do though he may be, at will, a wicked man. To do all these things is called civilization, and the white race is peculiar for the capacity of thus lifting the mind's eye and seeing the various forms of truth and beauty in religion, science and art. Why has not Africa a city like Paris, London or New York? Why has it no cathedrals, palaces, works of art, electric telegraphs, astronomical observatories, railroads, steam works, photographic galleries, dictionaries, written languages, etc? Africa is as old as Europe, why has it not developed civilizing institutions? They had the same Sun above them, the same external nature around them, but they had not the same capacity of internal or mental sight. They could not lift the mind's eye above, beyond, and within nature; and reason out the creations of art and science. God did not give them this faculty, but instead of it, he gave the willingness to learn of the white man, to imitate his life, and to be willing to give his ear to listen to the teachings of civilization. You can be educated, and taught all the white man discovers or invents, but you cannot discover or invent for yourselves. You have the willing ear but not the seeing eye.

It appears as though God had made the white race to be the eye of the world of mankind, and all the other races to be benefited by their discoveries, if they should be found willing to receive them. By this I do not mean that the white race is, morally, or spiritually speaking, better than any other. They certainly have more advantages, but whether they use them for their eternal welfare, is a matter for God alone to judge. We know this, that the white race has formed Governments for the protection of property and life, they have taught moral and religious obligations, they profess to believe in what they teach; and yet, in many ways we can

detect, that when tried, some are found, in reality and internally, no better than the worst of savages.

Let a shipwreck occur, and the bonds and restraints of a lawful command be severed, we then too often find men breaking loose like demons, plundering and doing violence to the unfortunates of the wreck. Let an earthquake devastate a city, and immediately hordes of plunderers and cutthroats, in the midst of this display of an irresistible power, (and when if ever man should stand appalled) rush among the ruins, to rob the sufferers and deprive them of what the dread convulsion may have spared.

If we go to our most favored cities, we see plainly, that civilization is only a gilded covering of the dreadful human will, which may be as depraved in civilized Christendom as in the wilds of Africa, civilization is not therefore religion, it is but the handmaid of religion, enabling men to be better if they will. I suppose that Africa, China, the Mahomedans and all others, have as many people among them, who at heart are merciful, kind and benevolent, as the Christian nations have. That man, who when all restraints of reputation and the law are removed, has a disposition to do to others, as he would have others do to him, that man alone is religiously right at heart and right with God, whether he be Pagan or Christian, you, my black friends, may be as good as your white fellow beings in this particular, but you are not their equals in what is called civilization. When we die, we shall not be judged by the amount of civilization we have, but by the use we have made of it; and by the heart, that lies behind all the glitter of worldly wisdom, and worldly acquisition.

And yet civilization is of God, and to do God's work, and the people, who obstruct it, will be swept away. Because God uses civilization to force men on to trials, temptations, and combats, that in the struggle, truth may be born by which mankind may be made wiser and better.

It may take you some time to comprehend this, but you may comprehend it, if you will try, and ponder it well.

NUMBER VI.

WHAT IS YOUR PRESENT CONDITION?

From slavery you in a moment became free. So sudden was the change that you were bewildered by it, and knew not how to regard your own position. Some of you were unwilling to leave your old masters. Some left their old homes in a hurry, to try how it felt to be free from the accustomed restraints. They wandered about, making their way to the towns and cities, where thousands died of small pox and other diseases. Others sought work, but when found, were not willing to do it. The steady and wise among you, either remained with their old masters or established themselves in some useful mode of life. The vicious por-

tion betook themselves to idle habits, thefts and every unlawful mode of life.

On the whole, however, any one who is disposed to be candid, must admit that the black people behaved with wonderful propriety, considering the great and sudden change in their condition, from the restraints of slavery to an entire absence of all restraint.

Your moderation on that occasion was a fitting sequence to your exemplary fidelity during the war. On both occasions you reflected credit on yourselves, and on your former owners and guides. Had they been cruel and hard masters, as reported and believed, you would have rebelled against, instead of supporting them throughout the war: and would, after emancipation, have been vindictive and unruly.

But you were neither rebellious during the war, nor vindictive after it, thus demonstrating that you respected and esteemed your old masters, and were yourselves well disposed people.

Such was the state of good feeling existing, that had no further action been taken by the Northern enemies of the South, the social position of the races would have been soon established on a practical basis of co-operative interests.

The black people, knowing their own natural deficiencies in intellect, would have chosen to follow the leadings of the good and wise of the white race. They would have chosen their friends from among the most humane of the whites, and have followed their advice. Equal rights before the law, were accorded you as citizens of Georgia, and, as freedmen, your rights would have been respected. In a short time, Georgia would have been more prosperous under free labor than she had ever been under slave labor.

But at this point the *old enemies* of the South came in. They did not want the South to prosper, They wanted to make the South tributary and subservient to them and their interests. What did they do to stop our prosperity? They disfranchised the whites, they gave votes to the blacks; they set up a military rule over Georgia to compel the whites to submit; they sent emissaries among you to tell you, that your old masters were your worst enemies; that they (our *enemies*) were your best friends; that you must vote for them and with them. They formed you into Union Leagues, and swore you to maintain their cause; they pretended that if you did not support them you would be again reduced to slavery; that the Union and the flag were in danger, and you must support it. These and other things they did to divide the whites and the blacks into two hostile parties; that by dividing us they might conquer the *South* and her principles, and make you the tool of our undoing. You have seen the result; Georgia is poor and impoverished, and you and we are all the sufferers. All this trouble has come by attempting to place the two races in a false position.

Let me ask you to consider this question. Suppose you had a steamboat, a ship, or a steam mill, and knew nothing about running either of them, would you persist in being the captain of

the boat or the ship, when you knew not how to manage either? Would you not be likely to destroy what you could not properly use? What sort of a figure would I, or any landsman, make in command of a ship at sea? Would not certain destruction overtake the ship and all on board?

Yet this very thing our Northern enemies have done with Georgia. The management of the State requires wise heads. These heads have to be chosen by enlightened people; but our enemies said the white and enlightened people of Georgia shall not choose the officers of government, but the black people, who know nothing about the matter, shall choose them.

Georgia is our ship, in which are embarked the prosperity of whites and blacks. If she goes down we all go down. Do you wish, because you are a citizen of Georgia, to claim the right to command, though you know nothing of government? Do you wish to control civilization, when you have not the necessary intellect? You wish, or should wish to become civilized men, can you become so without the guidance of your white fellow citizens? Our enemies, who put you in command of our ship, Georgia, intended by it to wreck you and us; are you so silly as to play into their hands by accepting the command?

In speaking of the North and the South, I wish you to remember, I do not include every man in the North when I say "the North." By "the North" I mean, only that power, which has been warring against our rights as a State. There are many, (I hope a majority there), who side with us, but they are not in power now. And by "the South," I do not mean every man in the South. For there are many here, who are the enemies of the black people, who would misuse them, and who like Judas of old, would sell their principles, if they had any, for filthy lucre and place. But by the South, I mean the people in general, who have shown by their acts that they are friends to your true interests and that of Georgia.

You have then to take your choice between the Northern and the Southern side of the question, between your own State and a foreign State, between your own interests and the interests of strangers, enemies of civilized freedom, choose between the Northern and the Southern man. In making your choice, bear in mind who it was, that sold you into slavery to the South—the NORTH, who was it that after selling you, have been endeavouring for years to make you cut the throats of the men they sold you to? the NORTH? Who make us pay two prices, (nay four prices) for all we put on our backs, or put in our mouths? The NORTH! Who prevented the black man from going into the Territories? The NORTH! Who refuse you equal rights as citizens in their own States? The NORTH!

Who are arguing among themselves, whether you are a man or a brute beast, whether you have a soul or not? The NORTH!

Who propose to send you out of the country entirely? The NORTH!

Who were they, that when they invaded Georgia, took from you all the property you had accumulated under slavery, tied you up in many instances and whipped you, till you gave up the little gold and silver you had saved in slavery? Who burnt up your buggies, stole your clothes, horses, mules, cows, and destroyed all they could not use, leaving you beggared and bare? The NORTHERN ARMY UNDER GENERAL SHERMAN! *

It is the North, under the pretense of kindness to you, that gave you the right to vote, and sent its people down here to get elected by your votes, and took the power of self Government from the intelligent white people, who brought you up and raised you, that they might swell their members in congress and carry a revolution of constitutional liberty.

It is the North that is trying to make a war of races in the South, that they may come in and wipe out both contestants. The Northern people, as a whole, have no use for black people; they find white labor more profitable, and prefer it, and would not care how soon you were put out of the way.

The Southern man, on the contrary, has been tolerant towards you. He took you a perfect barbarian from the hands of the Northern man soon after he brought you from Africa, and has done as good a part by you as circumstances permitted. He respects your freedom, and his only wish is to see you make good use of it. This he wishes not so much for his own sake as for your own. He can better do without you than you can without him. He is bound to hold fast to the civilization of his ancestors; he will never yield to barbarism; and if he finds you refuse to co-operate with him, for your own advancement, he will have to abandon you to self destruction. He wishes to see you educated, moral, religious and prosperous, because it is not only to his interest, but it is his pleasure also, for he has a feeling of kindness to you, as to one born in his house. I have given you a short review of your present condition, and it is for you to take your choice between the Northern and the Southern man. You must have a guide, which will you take?

NUMBER VII.

WHO ARE THEY, WHO ARE URGING ON YOU A DEPARTURE FROM YOUR LIFE-LONG COURSE, AS WAITERS ON PROVIDENCE?

I shall endeavor first to show you what I mean by being waiters on Providence. It is common with you, no matter what happens,

NOTE.—Perhaps our Northern friends will be astonished to learn, that many—very many of the Southern slaves, had as fine clothes as their masters, purchased by their private earnings—that they had buggies, horses, cattle, hogs &c, all held in their own right, by the toleration of their “*cruel, bloodthirsty slave driving masters.*” Yet this is a fact, and it is also a fact, that these poor creatures were despoiled of all they had, by the *bunners* in Shermans army. Many of them, were, as stated above, tied up and whipped till they gave up their specie. The author knows of many such instances in Liberty county.

to refer it all to the will of God. Sickness, loss of goods or friends, and even death itself, are all met with a passive endurance. A very short time obliterates your greatest troubles, and reconciles you to them.

In short, so little are you disposed to murmur at events, and so small is your endeavor to change their course, that many regard you as void of sensibility. I am inclined to think it arises from an humble trust in Providence, and that not having an active understanding and imagination, you do not attempt to shape your own destiny, but follow the leadings of circumstances, and make the best you can of what happens—much as young children do. Reason as white men may about it, this quality, if arrived at by the inductions of a Christian philosophy, would form the crowning point of a Christian regeneration. The Gospel tells us, that to become as a little child, is to be the greatest in the kingdom of heaven. You have *naturally*, what the Christian attains to, *spiritually*.

Living as you have among the whites of America, often have you attended barbecues on Fourth of July celebrations. You have heard the speeches of red hot orators, lauding the bird of liberty as she winged her flight among the stars; you have heard the Declaration of Independence, telling you "all men are equal;" you have helped celebrate that great birth day of American Independence, by firing off guns and crackers. Nevertheless, it never entered your mind to claim that freedom you heard so much lauded. During the revolutionary war the British tried to turn you against your masters, but you turned a deaf ear to their teachings, and remained faithful and firm. All through the late war you remained faithful, and apathetic to the proclamations of your freedom.

The North, that had counted on your rebellion, in the midst of the opportunities you must necessarily have in the progress of the war, was astonished at your steadfast loyalty to your owners. Despairing of your rebellion, they had finally to offer you large bounties to get you into their armies. Though your nature was opposed to a self assertion of freedom, and the taking up of arms to procure it, yet the large bounty carried you into the ranks, that fought against Dixie land. This shows that your childlike submission, is not the result of principle, as it is in a Christian disciple, but is only natural to you, and can be overcome by sufficient inducements. After emancipation, the same indifference was shown by you, and but for selfish men, who used you as their tool, you would have remained quiet and inoffensive.

In the midst of all this natural apathy, however, the divine Providence shaped your course. By his providence you were brought to a Christian land, where of yourself you would never have come. By his providence, through the contentions of North and South, you have been freed. You waited on providence, and he made you freemen in a Christian land, with Christian opportunities. You have been waiters on providence, and have advanced; why not continue to wait instead of taking up arms to do, you know not what? Why are you drilling, by nights, why go

armed on all occasions? Who is going to hurt you, that you should be meeting by roll of drums, and playing soldier. You must surely know, that such a course will lead to trouble. Are not the laws of the country as powerful for your protection as for the whites. Who of you, if wronged, would not have hosts of whites rush to your rescue, provided you remain the quiet waiters on providence, you have ever been. Can you hope to succeed by bullying and arming? If you, by the advice of bad white men bring on a war of races, what must be your fate against the superior intelligence and numbers of the whites? Can you hope to effect anything for yourselves, by claiming your rights, whatever they may be, by force. I do not mean, that you are not to defend your lives and property against violence, against the murderer and the robber. It is your duty, and the law allows you to do it, just as much as it allows it to a white man.

It is your duty to earn your wages of labor, to secure it to yourselves, to use it in the promotion of your happiness, the education of your children, and the support of your Churches. But seeing, that your race is not gifted with the capacity of advancing the interests of a civilized Government, it is not your duty to strive to take a place you cannot fill.

The Gospel says, if we are bidden to a feast, we should take the lowermost seat, and the master of the house seeing our worthiness, will say to us, come up higher; and then we shall have honor in the eyes of those who sit at meat with us.

You know the whites are the masters of this house of Georgia; they came here voluntarily, from a far distant country, in order to found it. They bought your fathers as slaves, who were brought against their will from their native land, to one entirely strange to them. They took them, perfect barbarians, and raised the present generation of you to your present condition. Now, don't you think it is very overbearing in you, to wish to usurp the rule of this house? You may say that strangers have come and told you to do so, but no matter by whose advice, it is still very outrageous conduct, and you ought to be ashamed of it. I know if you think about it, you will be very sorry you have ever listened to such bad advice. You have a right to progress; you have a right to education. If you have not sense enough to procure these things for yourselves, it is the duty and the interest of the whites to aid you. You cannot be left to die out, by ignorance and immoral lives, without tainting the air of our civilization. If not from Christian duty, then from interest, we are bound to help you, if you will depend on us, and ask our aid; but you will have to turn a deaf ear to strangers, and listen to us.

If we do not our duty by you, then will that Gospel be applied to us, which says:

"For I was an hungered and you gave me no meat; I was thirsty, and ye gave me no drink; I was a stranger, and you took me not in; naked, and ye clothed me not; sick, and in prison, and ye visited me not."

Then shall they answer unto him, saying, Lord, when saw we;

thee an hungered, or athirst, or a stranger, or in prison, and did not minister unto thee ?

“Then shall he answer them, saying, “ Verily, I say unto you, inasmuch as ye did it not to one of the least of these, ye did it not to me.”

“And these shall go away into everlasting punishment.”

Such will be our fate as a people if we do not our duty by you, provided you ask us. If Christian teachings and a wise policy are not pursued towards you, we shall assuredly answer for it as a people. Depend upon it, however, that you will not awaken our consciences to the performance of this duty by arms and violence ; but, on the contrary, justify us in leaving you to the destruction that will soon overtake you as it did the Indians.

Now, to answer the question, who are they who are urging on you a departure from your life-long course as waiters on Providence? and I will also ask, what do they want with you ?

Now, my friends, though you cannot think abstractly, you have still common sense enough to understand what is plainly stated.

The Northern people, who are setting you on, have no love for you ; nor do they think you have any right to possess what they wish you to claim, and to fight for here. In their own country they do not give you the right to vote nor hold office. If it is proper for you to have it here, why not there? It cannot be right in Georgia, but wrong in the Northern States. You see at once they are deciving you, as to what they are really driving at, and they are trifling with your ignorance,

Not only does the North deny you equal civil rights, but on recent occasions, they would not allow the Grant and Colfax colored clubs, to walk in their processions. The people would not tolerate your presence, and would have mobbed you had you been seen in their processions.

What then do they mean by exciting you to violence here, to obtain among us, what they deny to you at the North ?

I will state it in a few words. There are two branches forming the Radical party. The Abolitionists and the Radicals proper. The Abolitionists, mean well towards you, and are in earnest in their views of elevating you to an equality with the whites ; but they are fanatics, and are endeavouring to perform impossibilities. They say—one God made us all, and there should be no difference. This sounds well, but remember one God made the ox, the camel, the horse, the bat, the eagle, but he did not make the ox to pull with the horse, nor the bat to see like the eagle. So he has made various orders of men, among others the whites and the blacks, but he has not given them the same qualities. The whites have their peculiar genius, and you have your's. These are as different as is difference among the animal and brute creations, and you cannot alter them. To the whites he has given intellect of a high order, and all its progressive results, to you he has given an obedient ear, an humble will, and a servile disposition. Which is the best gift, we need not argue, enough that they are as different as are the color of your skins, each has its allotted sphere of action. Whilst

the whites *see* for you, and advance civil Government, and moral and religious truth, you *hear* with an obedient ear and advance by hearing. The white man is made by God to lead, and you are made by God to hear and follow.

This is clearly proved by the fact, that the Abolitionists come here among you, to tell you what to do, for you know not of yourselves. The only question for you to determine, is will you hear the men you live among, who know you, and can lead you right, or will you hear those, who start by telling you of an equality, which does not exist, and which inequality is admitted by the fact, that they have to instruct you what to do.

The Radical party are a different order of men; they are called Radical, I suppose, because they wish to tear up the tree of liberty by the ROOTS. Their object is to destroy the Union of States, and make one great central power upheld by the military. In this attempt they expect a civil war at the North, and they are endeavoring to separate you from the whites, arming and drilling you, to fight against the whites of the North, as well as of the South.

They want you as food for gunpowder, to uphold their usurpations. After the battle, should they succeed, they will have no further use for you, but will drive you out of the country or leave you to rot. They will treat you as the carpet baggers have done, tolerate you only so long as they can use you to their own advantage.

We have arrived, in this our day, to the crisis of the great contest, inaugurated at the dawn of American Independence. From that day until now there has been a war between money and human rights; between a government, to be administered for the sake of wealth and material prosperity, and one to be administered for human rights and liberty. New England is, and has been the centre of the movement in favor of the rights of money, and the Southern States have been arrayed against them.

The tariff has been the fruitful source by which the money power has been recruited. The late war has been still more fruitful. The national debt is, by this power, considered a national blessing, because it strengthens the ranks of the wealthy, and weakens those of the workman and laborer. These wealthy classes sigh for the death of Democracy and Republicanism, which mode of government they consider a failure, as they say the people are not fit to govern themselves, neither as whites nor blacks.

This fight, you, who are yourselves workingmen and laborers, are expected to enter into, on the side of the rich and wealthy, and against the white workingmen and laborers of the North.

The cry they raise, and the pretence they make of wishing you to vote, and have equal rights with the whites, are made, at the very time they are preparing to take these rights from whites and blacks. Their pretended advocacy of your rights is a mere fraud on you; they are deceiving you to lure you to war and death. You are common inheritors with us, of all the good that flows from a government administered in the interests of human rights, and it will be committing suicide for you to aid the Radical party.

The whole money world here, and in Europe, are linked together by an invisible chain of sympathy, all breathing death to the child of seventy-six. The world, the flesh and the devil are warring against the great principles of our American founders. They desire to have their wealth and its interests considered primarily, and human rights secondarily. They want a splendid Government, to pamper pride, and rule the workingmen and laborers, reducing them to the lowest modicum of unremunerated labor; and when thus reduced, that they may establish poor houses, hospitals, and other eleemosynary institutions, much in the same manner as the nobility build magnificent stables and kennels for their horses and dogs, because they are adjuncts of their state and quality as nobles. Pride of wealth, luxury, a moneyed aristocracy, (the most nauseous aristocracy of all) ostentatious charities to those, who are poor (only because they are wronged), will take the place of the glorious and heaven born spirit of our institutions. If we are to prefer the civilization of Europe, based on money making and its rule, to a civilization based on human rights and human progress, (in which MAN and not a *dollar* shall be the integer of value,) then we should support the Radical party. But if we are to prefer God, humanity, and equal rights before the law, (which is the only equality meant in the Declaration of Independence) then, let us join hands and defeat Radicalism.

My friends you have this equality before the law, and you will be always taken and advanced, according to your merits. Prove yourselves equal or superior to your white brethren, and depend upon it under our form of Government you will be advanced to station and honor. Till you do that, it would be against the interests of ourselves, and yourselves, against God's will and the rights of civilization for you to be placed in positions that would injure those interests. It is not because you have the forms of men, that you are therefore men as to mental or moral attributes, and these last are they, that must determine your place among us.

NUMBER VIII.

THE DANGERS YOU ARE IN, BY ATTEMPTING TO MOULD YOUR FUTURE BY FORCE, INSTEAD OF MOVING ON AS HERETOFORE, UNDER OBEDIENCE AND TUTELAGE TO THOSE, WHO ARE THE PIONEERS IN, AND ACTIVE AGENTS OF CIVILIZATION.

Before entering on this subject, I will say a few words about the parties, who are most active in arraying you against Southern white men, and your former friends.

First.—There are the old Abolitionists. They have always been preaching that you have been badly treated. That the white people here should have done, thus and so. Well now, I will tell you how to try those fault finders—more busy in attending to other, and more distant people, than to those they have about

them. Take for instance, one of the most estimable of this class, the philanthropic quaker, and say to him.

“Friend! *thee* has always been saying, that we have been badly treated, that the South has not done a fair part by us—now friend, we are free to come and go where we please (being now free) and we will come to *thee*, and *thee* can show us how *thee* thinks we should be brought up. A thousand families of us will come to thy neighbourhood, and each friend may take one family of us, and do by us as we ought to be done by.” The reply would be. “Friend, *thee* need not come, we have no need of *thee*, and have as much as we can do to take care of *number one*.”

You might then reply, “since *thee* will not, or cannot help us, why make trouble between, us and those we are bound to, as our employers and neighbours. In the language of the Gospel *thee* art like the Pharisees of old. “For they bind heavy burdens and grievous to be borne, and lay them on men’s shoulders, but they themselves will not move them with one of their fingers.”

Next we will take the Radical, but he, good honest fellow, does not make much pretense to philanthropy, his instrument is a small triangular piece of steel, called a bayonet, with which he pierces to his object. He puts you in front of the battle, and tells you to do and die! I have already adverted to their objects, but I will state them again in a few words. They are all for self and use you as stepping stones to power. The piles of your dead bodies are to serve as ramparts, behind which they will fight their way to dominion over a Democratic Republic.

No people can long maintain the principles of a Democratic Government, who are burthened with so large a public debt as we have. Added to the bondholding interest, is that of the wealthy manufacturers and bankers. These holders of immense wealth will seek power, they will oppress the workingman, they will seek to displace the liberty of the individual man, by giving life to a stronger Government that shall insure power and safety to capital. In other words an aristocracy of wealth can never be safe, so long as the fluctuating popular will, is left free to jeopardize its existence. A contest sooner or later may be expected, and you are expected to fight nominally for republicanism, but truly to support this aristocracy in its usurpations. This war will be at the North, and you who are workingmen, if you fight on the side of this aristocracy, will be warring against your own interests, and against laborers like yourselves. We trust such a contest may never come, but if it should, you had better keep out of it, and live peaceably at home on your farms. Should you fight on their side and win, what will be your reward. When the battle has been lost and won, and thousands of you have been made food for gunpowder, and you ask for your reward, the aristocracy will open a fresh bottle of champagne, light a fresh cigar, and tell you to go to Africa, or elsewhere, but not to stand between the “wind and their nobility.” A few of you may indeed be retained, dressed in a masquerade, called a livery, to adorn the state of a vain moneyed aristocracy, and show your contempt of the down trodden poor.

But if the battle should be lost to them, what then? you will have made enemies so implacable, as not to be satisfied short of your extermination. Is it merciful in the Radicals, to place you in this cross fire of the two contending parties. What have you to do with the contentions of the two parties in the fight. Better stay at home, and mind your own business, by keeping out of partizan politics and warfare, of which you know nothing.

Another class of persons against whom you should be warned, is that class of colored men, who come here from the North, in the pay and under the miguiding influences of the Radical party. They preach riot and bloodshed, take your money, get into offices, which they are unable to fill with any propriety or fitness, and at last after getting you into trouble, leave you and go home with well filled pockets. What will you get by listening to, and acting under their guidance? Nothing but *war! war! war!* till you are ruined and starved by idle habits contracted in attending meetings, and political clubs.

Happy had it been, had you never been gifted with the ballot. It has been a snare and delusion, turning you from settled labor, and leading you to idleness, vagrancy and drunkenness. It was like putting in the hands of an infant, a sharp edged tool, by which he was sure to wound himself. The nation having brought you from Africa, stands morally and equitably bound to act by you the part of the good Samaritan; but the politictans are not the Samaritans. Instead of oil, they pour vitriol into your gaping wounds. When emancipation took place, they should have substituted some other governing power, in place of that of your masters—a power at once educational and coercive, as that of a schoolmaster over his scholars.

In each county might have been located a model farm, on which laborers may have worked at fair wages, subject to proper supervision over their domestic economy, and cleanly habits of living and clothing. On each farm might have been established a school, capable of taking in children from a wide circuit of country. These farms would have been self sustaining, leaving perhaps some profits on the investment.

The system, the hours of labor, the discipline, the wages given, would each have, measurably, been the rule and the practise throughout that county. Thus the light shed from this centre, would have reached the whole confines of the county. If it was thought, that justice would not be done you by the State Courts, inferior federal Courts, with powers of justices of the peace might have been established, to try all cases in which a colored person was concerned, with the right of appeal to higher courts.

Such indeed was the plan I recommended, in a letter to General Tilson, long before the passage of the reconstruction acts. The wise men of Congress, however, thought that your true defense lay in your having the ballot.

But the ballot is no defense in the hands of ignorance. You know many poor ignorant white men, who have been voting for years. Did you ever know it of any special benefit or protection

to them? How has it benefitted them or the country? Their votes were given without intelligence, and at the instigation of others. This great privilege, this act of sovereignty, should only be given to the intelligent. Suffrage has made you the prey of ignorant demagogues, and the tools, and the scoff of both parties.

If, however, you must vote, it appears to me, that your best course would be to abstain from identifying yourselves with either political party. Have nothing to do with national politics, but confine yourselves to voting only for State officers, and of these choose those in whom you have most confidence, as just, and wise intelligent men.

Put aside your guns and pistols, quit drilling, realize the fact that your progress depends on the people among whom you are, and say thus to them in word and spirit.

“You brought our fathers from their native land against their will. For these two hundred years, they and we, (their off-spring,) have been faithful servants to you and your fathers. We have nursed you in infancy, and been more tender in our care of and affection for you, than we have been to our own children. We have in childhood followed you, and partaken of your sports. We have followed your fortunes, whether good or bad, sharing either the luxury or the poverty of the masters we served, always cheerful under the worst reverses of fortune, and identifying your interests with our own. We have obeyed you, served you, sympathized with you in your griefs and joys—our labor is seen on all sides, which under your superior intelligence has reared cities, and whitened the seas of commerce with ships, freighted with the staples of our land. By our labor, the world has been clothed, by it also the North has grown rich, proud, imperious. During the late war, though appealed to by your enemies (when near enough to receive and protect us against you) we remained faithful to our life long attachments to you—After the war, we still cast lingering looks towards you, and were ready to continue the attachment as freemen, which we had for you as slaves, and were only prevented because you closed your arms and hearts against our embrace, and felt angry at us for the act of emancipation, that was forced upon us, without our having raised our voices to ask it.

“In this interval of your unjust anger, strangers came among us and sowed tares, and for this you blame us, though you took no pains to instruct us in the duties of our new situation; and to this day you have made no movement to do so with effect—saying by your action, “we care not what becomes of you.” We came not to your country by our own volition—we were not emancipated by our own effort—faithful to you throughout, have we not a claim on your sympathy, kindness, and care. Let us continue to act in each other’s interests. You have knowledge, we have skilled labor—let us make Georgia to blossom as the rose.

“All this you may do, if you will interest yourselves in our welfare—We are willing to be instructed, if you will put forth your hand. You send missionaries to distant lands, and behold! you have us at your doors, needing Christian benevolence. We ap-

peal to the Churches, for the love of a God of mercy, to have mercy on us, and let us not perish in their midst by being led astray by men of blood.

“We ask not to be taught the dogmas of religious faith, because we cannot comprehend them, nor do you, but we wish to be taught what evil is, and what good is. We will trust, that as our lives are amended, we shall be gifted with a true living faith. Emancipation has not changed our natures, the same tractable disposition that made us faithful slaves, is still ours, to enable us to be teachable freemen.

“Try, and see how easy the work is, if we but feel you are in earnest in our behalf. We admit many of our people are not entitled to your confidence, but why distrust the innocent, on account of the guilty. The laws against crime will take care of them, do you take care of us, who are not criminal.”*

Would not such an appeal and such a spirit, be more in accordance with your true nature and wants, than the vain effort to fly without wings. Such an appeal, would bring all good men to your aid. The wise, and the greatest of our people, the leaders of public opinion, would listen to you, and soon, efforts would be made, societies would be formed, and all the machinery of organized effort be put in motion, to take you by the hand and direct you in the channels of usefulness, and thus you will continue in the future, as in the past, one of the agents of civilization. Civilization has a very selfish heart. It is not in the power of Congress, or any earthly power to make civilization accept any, but a useful member of society. Let us be one people, and if unhappily the workingmen of the North, goaded to desperation by the burthen of taxation; or the lovers of constitutional liberty rise in their might against usurpation and wrong, and thus a civil war arise, we shall here in Georgia have a harbor of safety, for those to fly to, who wish to escape the violence of the storm. It is not impossible that such may be the case, though we hope our fears may be groundless.

NUMBER IX.

In conclusion my colored friends—I have been at much pains to write this address, in order to give you a view of your situation past and present, in hopes that I may influence your future for good. Please to read and ponder what I have written. Some of you can read, and it will be your duty to read the address, portion by portion, to your less fortunate brothers. Weigh well what is written, and be careful to think for yourselves, do not allow the *enemy* to influence you, but receive what I have said, as coming from one, who is a true friend.

* NOTE—I assure the reader, that many of the sentiments of this address, are those of an intelligent black man, who is minding his own business, and prospering wonderfully. I withhold his name at his request.

We are all creatures of one good Being. We are all brethren, children of one Father. He has made us differently—we, to work in one part of his vine yard—you, in another. But all to receive the wages of our work. This world is but of short duration, let us each so act his part, that when we appear before him, he may say to each of us—"Well done good and faithful servant."

You have good qualities, so peculiar to you, so different from those of the white race, that many intelligent minds argue, that you are an independent race, created before that of the whites. If so, your ancestors in their golden age, (which all nations have) must have had a civilization peculiar to their genius, which through sin and the lapse of long ages, is now lost; leaving you as we find you, bereft of all but the remains of the inmost characteristics of your order.

Your native land of Africa is the most interesting in the world, which with its inhabitants, presents to the eager thinker an enigma to be solved.

You are now in a Christian land, the foremost in civilization, because it was here in America, that the great system of Government was born, in which, by checks and balances, the sovereignty of the people might be secured. Great things are in store for this favored land, where mind is so active and man so free to act. We may have trials, conflicts—but they will all tend to the advance of truth and a liberty regulated by law.

Do your duty quietly in your sphere, *waiting* for the providences, that will unfold your future. Lift not up your hand in your own might, it will but mar the work. As we advance, you will advance, the one depends on the other.

It may be, that on you will devolve the glorious task of colonizing and filling Africa, with the *ornaments of gold and silver*, you will carry away from America (in the shape of knowledges of what is good and *true*), which you may obtain among us.

What we have done in America, you may do in Africa, one of the most bounteous, fruitful, and beautiful countries on our globe, rich in every thing that man needs for the supply of his natural wants. There—you may plant a civilization based on the *affection* for the right, the counterpart of that we have here introduced, based on the *understanding* of the right. Which will be the best, or the nearest to the Lord, time alone can tell. It may be that Africa will, in future ages, demonstrate to those, whose eagle sight has pierced the light of truth, and pioneered her people to civilization—that a civilization founded on the *affection* for what is good and true, is superior to that founded on the *understanding*. That the *hearing ear*, is superior to the *seeing eye*.

With this hint at your possible future, and a reminder, of what you should cherish as the dearest object of your laudable ambition. (the civilization of your native land of Africa). I conclude; and bid you farewell!

A P P E N D I X .

As bearing on the subject treated on in this address, I give below an extract from "The Albert Nyanza," of the English traveller in Africa, Sir S. W. Baker, in which he gives his views of the workings of emancipation in the British West Indies, and his experiences in Africa.

"The black man is a curious anomaly, the good and the bad points of human nature bursting forth without any arrangement, like the flowers and thorns of his own wilderness. A creature of impulse, seldom actuated by reflection, the black astonishes by his complete obtuseness, and as suddenly confounds you by an unexpected exhibition of sympathy. From a long experience with African savages, I think it is as absurd to condemn the negro *in toto*, as it is preposterous to compare his intellectual capacity with that of the white man. It is unfortunately the fashion for one party to uphold the negro as a superior being, while the other denies him the common powers of reason. So great a difference of opinion has ever existed upon the intrinsic value of the negro, that the very perplexity of the question is a proof that he is altogether a distinct variety. So long as it is generally considered that the negro and the white man are to be governed by the same laws and guided by the same management, so long will the former remain a thorn in the side of every community to which he may unhappily belong. When the horse and the ass shall be found to match in double harness, the white man and the African black will pull together under the same regime. It is the grand error of equalizing that which is unequal, that has lowered the negro character, and made the black man a reproach.

"In childhood I believe the negro to be in advance, in intellectual quickness, of the white child of a similar age, but the mind does not expand—it promises fruit, but does not ripen; and the negro man has grown in body, but has not advanced in intellect. The puppy of three months old is superior in intellect to a white child of the same age, but the mind of the child expands, while that of the dog has arrived at its limit." "The African will remain a negro in all his natural instincts; although transplanted to other soils; and those natural instincts being a love of idleness and savagedom, he will assuredly relapse into an idle and savage State, unless specially governed and forced to industry.

"The history of the negro has proved the correctness of this theory. In no instance has he evinced other than retrogression, when once freed from restraint. Like a horse without harness, he runs wild, but, if harnessed, no animal is more useful. Unfortunately, this is contrary to public opinion in England, where the *vox populi* assumes the right of dictation upon matters and men in which it has had no experience. The English insist upon their own weights and measures as the scales for human excellence, and it has been decreed by the multitude, inexperienced in the negro personally, that he has been a badly treated brother; that he is a

worthy member of the human family, placed in an inferior position through the prejudice and ignorance of the white man, with whom he should be on an equality.

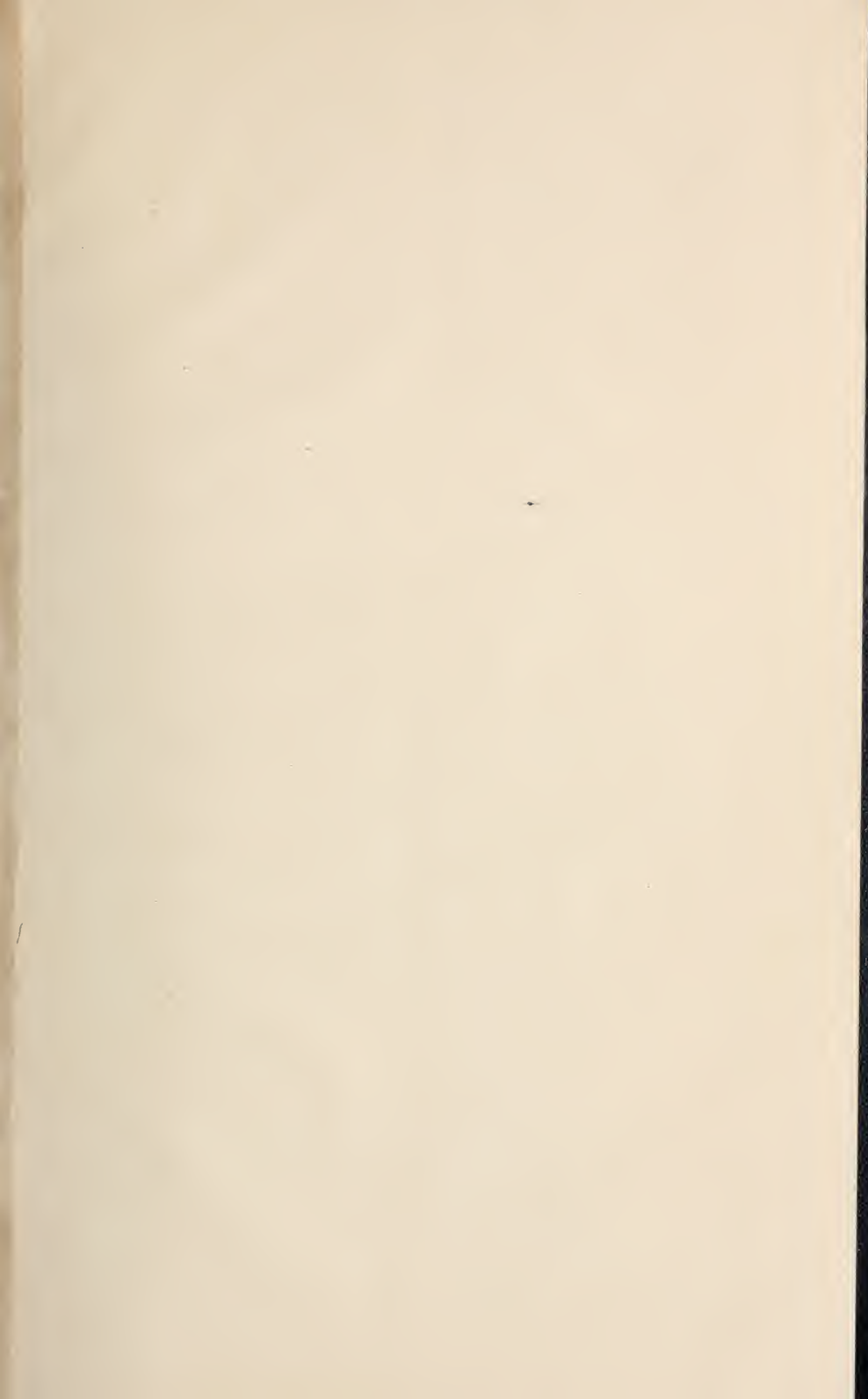
The negro has been, and still is thoroughly misunderstood. However, severely we may condemn the horrible system of slavery, the results of emancipation have proved that the negro does not appreciate the blessings of freedom, nor does he show the slightest feeling of gratitude to the hand that broke the rivets of his fetters. His narrow mind, cannot embrace that feeling of pure philanthropy that first prompted England, to declare herself against slavery, and he only regards the antislavery movement as a proof of his own importance. In his limited horizon he is himself—the important object, and as a sequence to his self conceit, he imagines that the whole world is at issue concerning the BLACK MAN. The negro therefore, being the important question, must be an important person, and he conducts himself accordingly—he is far too great a man to work. Upon this point his natural character exhibits itself most determinedly. Accordingly, he resists any attempt at coercion; being free, his first impulse is to claim an equality with those whom he lately served, and to usurp a dignity with absurd pretensions, that must inevitably insure the disgust of the white community. Ill will thus engendered, a hatred and jealousy is established between the two races, combined with the errors that in such conditions must arise on both sides. The final question remains. Why was the negro first introduced into our colonies?"

"Now as the negro was originally imported as a laborer, but now refuses to labor, it is self evident that he is a lamentable failure. Either he must be compelled to work by some stringent law against vagrancy, or those beautiful countries that prospered under the conditions of forced labor and industry must yield to ruin, under negro freedom and idle independence. For an example of the results, look at St. Domingo !

"Under peculiar guidance, and subject to a certain restraint, the negro may be an important and most useful being; but if treated as an Englishman, he will affect the vices but none of the virtues of civilization, and his natural good qualities will be lost in his attempt to become a "white man."

"It was amusing to watch the change that took place in a slave that had been civilized? by the slave traders. Among their parties, there were many blacks who had been captured, and who enjoy the life of slave hunting—nothing appeared so easy as to become professional in kidnapping human beings, and the first act of a slave was to *procure a slave for himself*. All the best slave hunters, and the boldest and most energetic scoundrels were the negroes who had at one time themselves been kidnapped. "*Pages 194, 195, 196.*"

[Entered according to Act of Congress in 1868, by ELIAS YULEE, in the Clerk's office of the United States for the Southern District of Georgia.]



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